SOME NEW BOOKS.

The Swedish Colony in Maine.

When one hears of New Sweden, one at first thinks of the colony founded by the successor of Gustavus Adolphus on the banks of the Delaware some two hundred and sixty years ago. Or, if he be told that the colony is an existing one, his mind turns to the large Scandinavian communities in North Dakota. Few are aware that there is in the remote northeastern corner of Maine a colony of Swedes already flourishing, which, by successive accretions from the mother country, may look forward to reclaiming a vast and fertile forest tract which, although the first settlement in Maine dates back to the early years of the seventeenth century, has seemed hitherto impenetrable to civilization. The colony to which we refer was founded in 1870, through the instrumentality of Mr. W. W. Thomas, who had been the American Consul at Gothenburg, and on June 25, 1895, it celebrated the twenty-fifth year of its existence. The proceedings on that occasion have been published in a volume entitled "The Story of New Sweden," from which we glean some interesting facts.

That Maine needed immigration was made evident when the census of 1870 revealed the fact that, while the United States as a whole had increased in population over seven and a half millions during the previous decade, Maine had actually gone backward, and numbered 1,364 fewer inhabitants than she did ten years before. That, in view of climatological conditions, Scandinavian immigration would be the best for the State was quite generally admitted, but one attempt to procure recruits from Sweden had ended in total failure. A company of Maine men incorporated as the Foreign Emigrant Association had collected in 1864 some three hundred laborers and servants in Sweden, and paid their passage across the Atlantic. These immigrants landed at Quebec, where they all with one accord disappeared; not one of them ever arrived in Maine, and the association was dissolved, with a loss of many thousand dollars. Thus, at the beginning of 1870, there were no Swedes in Maine, with the exception of a few scattered representatives of that nationality, who had, from time to time, drifted into the seaboard cities and towns, less than a hundred in all. What turned out to be a practical plan of procuring immigration was devised by Mr. Thomas. He proposed that a Commissioner should be sent from the State of Maine to Sweden, who should there recruit a colony of young Swedish farmers, picked men, with their wives and children. No one, however, was to be taken unless he could pay his own passage, and that of his family. A Swedish pastor was to accompany the colony, that religion might lend aid in binding the emigrants together. The Commissioner was to lead forth the colony in a body at one time, and aboard one ship, from Sweden to America. Thus would they be made acquainted with one another, and be prevented from going astray. Finally, the Commissioner was to take the Swedes into the Northern forests, in the Aroostook region of Maine, and there to give every head of a family one hundred acres of woodland for a farm, and do what might be needed to root the Swedish colony firmly in the soil. When this was accomplished, all State aid was to cease. For it was assumed that, when once the colony was firmly rooted in the soil, it would thrive and grow of itself, and throughout the future, draw to Maine a fair proportion of the Swedish emigration to the United States.

The plan was successfully carried out. The township set apart by the State for the future settlement, and now known as New Sweden, lies in latitude 47° north, about the same as that of the city of Quebec. Hither, in the course of 1870, Mr. Thomas brought a colony of 114 Swedes, comprising 58 men, 20 women, and 26 children, all of whom had paid their own passage from Sweden. Before the winter weather had set in, seven miles of road had been cut through the forest, 180 acres of woods had been felled, 100 acres had been hand piled, burnt off and cleared for a crop, and 20 acres had been sowed for winter wheat and rye; 26 dwelling houses and one public building had been built. The winter of 1870-71 was safely and comfortably passed in the woods by the Swedes, who were accustomed to cold weather and deep snow. With the first opening of navigation in the spring of 1871, fresh Swedish immigrants began to arrive in New Sweden; first in little squads, then in companies of twenty, thirty, and forty, till the immigration of the year culminated in the last week of May, when one hundred Swedes arrived by way of Houlton, and Presque Isle, followed within five days by two hundred and sixty more by the St. John River. Provisions and tools for the colony and its expected accessions had been shipped in March directly to Fredericton, and, thence, on the opening of navigation up the River St. John to Tobique Landing. From the latter place, the goods were hauled into New Sweden, a distance of but twenty-five miles. Seed, consisting chiefly of wheat, rye, barley, oats, corn, beans, and potatoes, was early purchased in the neighborhood of the colony, and hauled in on the snow. In the spring of 1871, 165 acres of land were sowed, including the 100 acres which had been cleared for a crop the year before. The crops grew rapidly. Wheat averaged five feet, and rye over six feet in height. One stalk of rye was seven feet and five inches tall. A man stepping into any of the winter rye fields of New Sweden in August would disappear as completely from view as though he were lost in the depths of the forest. Many heads of wheat and rye were over eight inches in length. Harvest time comes early in that latitude. Winter rye was ripe and cut by the middle of August; wheat, barley, and oats early in September. Three thousand bushels of grain were threshed out, the wheat averaging twenty and the rye thirty-five bushels to the acre. The season had been wet, and much of the wheat was nipped by the rust, but, in an ordinary year, a maximum yield of forty bushels to the acre has been attained. The earliest potatoes planted yielded three hundred bushels to the acre, although an unusually heavy frost in the middle of December killed the tops and stopped all further growth. On Sept. 30, 1871, all those who had harvested crops were cut off from further receipt of State supplies. Thenceforward these colonists became not only self-supporting, but delivered to the State, in part payment of their indebtedness, 500 bushels of potatoes, which were sold to the later-arrived immigrants. On Nov. 15 of the same year State aid was also cut off from every immigrant who had not wife or children with him. For all such men work for the winter was provided among the American farmers, or in the lumber woods, or at the tanneries, quarries, or railroads. We add that a free public school was opened on Nov. 13, the chief study being the English language, and that the Lutheran religious services were held, both forenoon and afternoon, every Sunday throughout the year. In January, 1872, a weekly newspaper, the *North Star*, was started at Caribou, every issue of which contained a column printed in the Swedish language. This was the first paper, or portion of a paper, ever published in a Scandinavian tongue in Maine, although Scandinavians had sailed along the coast and had built temporary settlements nearly five hundred years before Columbus discovered the islands of the western continent.

Such was the beginning of New Sweden. Now, let us see what progress has been made. By the autumn of 1873 the condition of the colony was excellent. The number of settlers had increased to 600, and, outside of New Sweden, there were as many more Swedes located in the State, drawn thither by the Swedish colony. The settlement of New Sweden had outgrown the township of that name, and spread over the adjoining sections of Woodland, Caribou, and Perham. The trees on 2,200 acres had been felled. Of this tract, 1,500 acres had been thoroughly cleared and 400 acres had been laid down to grass. By this time the colonists had built 130 houses and nearly as many barns and hovels; they owned 22 horses, 14 oxen, 100 cows, 40 calves, 33 sheep, and 125 swine. To-day the town of New Sweden numbers 1,317 inhabitants, but these figures represent less than half of the Swedish settlers massed around them. Maine's Swedish colony is now situated on seven different but adjoining townships, forming a compact settlement comprising no fewer than 3,452 Swedes, nearly thirty times the little band of pilgrims that entered the northern woods of Maine on June 25, 1870. It is worth noting, as proving the vigor of the Swedish race and the healthfulness of the climate of Maine, that, from the date of the settlement to the twenty-fifth anniversary, there have been 481 births and only 140 deaths. The immigrants have erected 689 buildings and constructed 71 miles of road, of which 46 miles are turnpike. They own live stock valued at $72,000, and in 1894 they harvested crops valued at $164,000, besides producing nearly $10,000 worth of butter, cheese, eggs, and wool. The product of their factories and mills in the same year was appraised at $69,000, and the total value of their buildings, clearings, machinery, tools, and live stock was $528,895. All this has been created in the heart of a primeval forest, where not the worth of a dollar was produced twenty-five years ago.

The story of New Sweden has no parallel in New England since the thirteen colonies became a federal republic. This Swedish settlement is the only successful agricultural colony founded by foreigners from over the ocean in New England since the Revolutionary war.

Indulgences.

There will be no longer any excuse for the misconceptions current in English speaking countries of the Roman Catholic doctrine of indulgences, to the sale of which in Luther's time is commonly ascribed the Reformation. A trustworthy and exhaustive account of this ecclesiastical institution will be found in a book of some 580 large octavo pages, which forms the third volume of *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*, by HENRY CHARLES LEA. (Philadelphia: Lea Brothers & Co.) In this work is traced the development of the doctrine of indulgences from its origin in the eleventh century up to its culmination in the first part of the sixteenth and through the modifications which it received by the counter-reformation which may be said to have continued down to our own day. We shall here avail ourselves of those chapters of Dr. Lea's book which define the misunderstood doctrine of indulgences and discuss the relation of its application to Germany in the time of Leo X. to the Lutheran uprising.

I.

Prior to the Council of Trent, theologians had no hesitation in admitting that the Christian Fathers knew nothing of indulgences. The Blessed Fisher of Rochester even went so far as to admit that the value of indulgences was wholly dependent on purgatory, and as purgatory was unknown, so were indulgences, until the cooling of Christian zeal rendered the severity of the penitential canons so unendurable that men would rather abandon Christianity than submit to it. In fact, the protagonists in the conflict with Lutheranism conceded that there was no point of Catholic doctrine so difficult to defend and so impossible to justify with proof. Muratori tacitly admits the late introduction of indulgences when he ascribes their origin to the system of redemption from penance. This undoubtedly had an influence in determining their development, but Mr. Lea does not believe it to have been the source from which they sprang. Redemptions were the precursors of indulgences, and the origin of both is to be ascribed to the power attributed at first to Bishops, and subsequently to priests, to commute, to mitigate, or to prolong the infliction of penance, according to the circumstances of the case and the deserts of the penitent. In its original conception, an indulgence was merely the substitution of some presumably pious work for a part or the whole of the penance prescribed by the priest after confession had been made. From an early period, sinners who appealed to Rome for mitigation of penance were assured that the devotion manifested and the fatigue endured in the pilgrimage to the Holy City entitled them to a diminution of the inflictions provided in the canons. From this it was a natural development that shrines desirous of attracting pilgrims and their oblations should seek to obtain privileges establishing a fixed term of diminution of penance as an equivalent for a visit to them, accompanied by a donation. It was a simple commutation of pious works, and the earliest indulgences were all of this kind. These were slowly introduced during the eleventh century, and were cautiously limited to exceedingly brief releases from the penances that had been imposed; but when Urban II., at the council of Clermont in 1095, desired to inflame to the utmost the zeal developed for the first crusade, he decreed that service in Palestine should stand in lieu of all penances incurred by those who had duly confessed their sins, thus giving an example of what came to be known as a plenary indulgence in contradistinction to the partial indulgences then slowly coming into vogue.

The idea was favorably received throughout Latin Europe and innumerable multitudes were soon upon their way bearing a cross upon the shoulder in sign of penitence and shouting *Deus lo volt*. Thus already were established the two specific kinds of indulgences, the plenary and the partial, the former being equivalent to the whole amount of the penance which had been imposed on the penitent, while the latter released him only for the time designated in the grant. General indulgences, which might be obtained by any one fulfilling their conditions, such as visiting a certain church, or contributing to some pious work, were beyond the competence of the priest, even within his parish, and were reserved for the episcopal order culminating in the Pope, although some abbots also for a time assumed the right of bestowing them. The discretion, however, which had become vested in the priest to diminish or commute the canonical penance virtually amounted to an indulgence granted in the individual case. Ultimately, when the theory of indulgences was thoroughly worked out, it was held that priests could not grant real indulgences, even in the individual cases of those who had come before them in the tribunal of conscience, for real indulgences were absolute releases from purgatory, while if the priests diminished the penance it had to be made up in purgatory.

To return to general indulgences, whether plenary or partial: the Lateran Council in 1216 adopted measures to concentrate them all as far as possible in Papal hands. The utility of indulgences to the Holy See had been demonstrated in the crusades against the Albigenses, and it seemed to be the part of wisdom to prevent competition, which might destroy their value if every Bishop and abbot in Christendom was authorized to issue them for the benefit of his cathedral or his monastery. The Council, therefore, decreed that abbots should no longer be allowed to grant indulgences, while Bishops in future should be restricted to granting partial indulgences for the maximum of forty days, except at the dedication of churches, when a year might be granted to those present.

II.

Thus far the theory of the indulgence was the simple one of commuting, in the exercise of sacerdotal discretion, canonical penance for the performance of some pious work, usually almsgiving or crusading; and, while the Lateran Council restricted the exercise of this discretion in promulgating general offers, of which all sinners might avail themselves, it did not interfere with the power of Bishop or priest to treat individual penitents as he might see fit. An entirely new conception of indulgences, however, which eventually modified greatly both theory and practice, was evolved when, toward the middle of the thirteenth century, the discovery was made that, in the passion of Christ, and in the superabundant merits of the members of Christ, the Church possessed an inexhaustible "treasure" which it could apply at will to satisfy for sinners by offering to God a *quid pro quo*. The idea as to the community of merits which was thus to be applied, gradually took shape as the theologians elaborated their conception of the unity of the church militant and the church triumphant, the one with the Papacy at its head, as the vicar of the Trinity which had its seat in the other. If the merits of holy men on earth formed a fund for the benefit of the sinner, if the merits of the saints in heaven could be relied upon to relieve the sinner from the burden of satisfying for his sins, and if the transcendent merits of the humanity of Christ crucified were an inexhaustible treasure for the redemption of the race for which He suffered, how could all this be applied to those in need of it, save through the Church and by the hands of the representative of Peter, to whom Christ had given the solemn charge, "Feed my sheep"? To Alexander of Hales is given the credit of being the first to formulate, in accordance with the dialectic methods of the school, a working hypothesis whereby recourse could be had to the indefinite but infinite sum of the superabundant merits of Christ and the members of His Church, conceived as furnishing a fund out of which the individual debts of sinners could be paid. He set out with the postulate that there were three kinds of merits, those of the penitent, those of Christ, who makes over His passion to us, and those of the Church as a whole. Through these there is a triple remission of punishment; the eternal penalty is changed to temporary by the remission of the *culpa* or guilt; the temporal penalty which is beyond our strength is changed to a temporal which we can endure, by the absolution of the priest; lastly, this is reduced to a still smaller infliction by the indulgence in which the merits of the Church satisfy for us. The command to perform works meet for repentance is obeyed equally through works of satisfaction by the sinner, or by the suffrages of others that have credit with the Almighty sufficient to pay the debt. This vicarious satisfaction is the pivot on which the whole theory turns. The Church is assumed to be a mystical body; in the human body, one member exposes itself to protect another, as the arm to save the head; a human creditor who is paid does not trouble himself as to who furnishes the money; Christ's passion satisfies for us as well as for Him, and we are all members of Christ. Indulgences are granted from the supererogatory merits of the members of Christ, and chiefly from those of Christ Himself, which are the spiritual treasure of the Church.

Such was the earliest assertion of the "treasure" and its uses, which were destined to work changes so momentous in the theory and the practice of the Church, and to supplement the power of the keys by placing purgatory under the control of the Holy See. A system which aided largely in building up the autocracy of the Papacy and furnished it the means wherewith to establish its power as an Italian sovereign, a system which was the mainspring of the Crusades, the proximate cause of the rebellion of John Huss and of the successful revolution of Luther, and which forms so prominent a part of Catholic observance to-day, is clearly worthy of the minute investigation which it receives in the book before us.

III.

There was one point on which the theory of the treasure offered a welcome solution of a difficult question. So long as indulgences had been merely commutations or mitigations of imposed penance sinners might be tormented with doubts as to the sufficiency of the rapidly diminishing satisfaction required of them in the confessional. The idea that the indulgence was a payment, and a plenary indulgence a payment in full, was easily developed into the conclusion that it supplied all defects of the confessor in enjoining penance; as regards partial indulgences, indeed, there were many questions left in doubt, but a penitent who obtained a plenary discharged all his debts, and there was no longer ground for anxiety in the fact admitted by all theologians that God alone knows the measure of satisfaction required to remit the penalty of a given sin or series of sins. Another important modification wrought by the theory of the treasure in the doctrine of indulgences was the supersession of episcopal authority and the concentration of the function of granting indulgences in the hands of the Holy See. We have seen that, at first, the power to confer them was lodged equally with Bishops and Popes, and was even enjoyed similarly by abbots, while priests had it also in so far as their individual penitents were concerned. If the power of Bishops became limited at the Lateran Council of 1216, it was with their own consent, and was a mere matter of discipline, liable to be modified or abrogated in the same manner. It was the logic of Aquinas which established the Papal supremacy in the matter. He declared that, as indulgences were extra-sacramentary and no longer a matter of orders, but of jurisdiction, and, as the treasure required a guardian who would prevent its squandering, the Pope alone was its keeper; whoever else dispensed it could only do so by delegation from him, limited as he might see fit. This theory suited too well the centralizing tendency of the time not to be generally accepted, and Bishops were thenceforth held, so far as indulgences were concerned, to be merely deputies of the Pope, with powers restricted to their commissions from him. The Council of Trent made no direct enunciation on a point so generally conceded but it assumed the supreme Papal authority when it instructed all Bishops to investigate the abuses of indulgences in their dioceses, and after sifting them through their provincial councils, to send the result to Rome, when the Pope would decide what was to be done.

From what has been said above it will be seen that the indulgence is not supposed to be in any way a pardon of sin, but only a remission of a part or all of the temporal *pœna* or penalty remaining after the *culpa* or guilt of the sin has been absolved in the sacrament of penitence. Numerous attempts have been made to define the indulgences accurately, but it is not an easy matter, seeing that there has been debate on almost all the points involved. Mr. Lea quotes, however, from Bishop Bouvier what he deems a sufficiently clear and concise definition of the view now generally accepted: An indulgence is "the remission of the temporal penalty due to actual sins already remitted as to their guilt; granted externally to the sacrament of penance by those who have the power of distributing the spiritual treasure of the Church." Around this simple formula has grown a vast literature, for, in the administration of indulgences, many questions arise as to which the Church has withheld its decision, allowing the more rigorous and the laxer schools ample opportunity to develop their opposing views.

IV.

Let us pass to Mr. Lea's account of the relation of this institution to the Reformation. It is pointed out that the evolution of the system of indulgences had not been unaccompanied with protests from those who were hardy enough to view with disaffection the growth of all-pervading sacerdotalism. Without examining the opinions of the Albigenses, whose dualism placed them outside of the Christian pale, or those of the earlier Waldenses, who flourished at a time anterior to the development of the doctrine of the treasure, we note that the heretics who were burned in Cologne and Mainz at the close of the fourteenth century denied the existence of purgatory, and announced indulgences to be frauds invented through greed. The Flagellants, called into existence by the Black Death, were another sect of heretics who denied the efficacy of indulgences. More serious was the revolt against indulgences led by John Wyckliffe. Though he did not deny purgatory or the sacrament of penitence, his predestinarian theories rendered superfluous the received machinery of salvation, and he rejected with ridicule the so-called treasure of the Church, subject to Papal dispensation. In the most authoritative exposition of his system he expresses boundless contempt for indulgences, which he attributes to the temporalities of the Church; if it could be stripped of these, he says, there would be an end of the blasphemies concerning the spiritual power of the Pope to absolve from guilt and punishment, and of the baseless concession of indulgences beyond what Christ and His Apostles ever attempted; it is, he insists, blasphemy for the Pope to pretend to grant indulgences. The Lollards accepted these teachings and avowed them uncompromisingly, when, in 1388, they answered the charges against them by an outspoken profession of their faith.

Wyckliffe's doctrines were not formally condemned until the Council of Rome in 1413, while as early as 1390 his writings had been read in the University of Prague. The jubilee indulgence of 1392, however, awakened no open opposition when it was published in Bohemia. It was on this indulgence that John Huss spent his last four gröschen when he had only dry crusts to eat. The heresies of Wyckliffe, nevertheless, spread rapidly in Bohemia, and early in the fifteenth century they found in Huss an enthusiastic supporter, although in 1403 the university condemned forty-five articles drawn from Wyckliffe's writings, including the one concerning indulgences, and in 1410 Archbishop Zvinco publicly burned 200 of his books. The clash came two years later when John XXIII. issued his bull of indulgences for a crusade against Ladislas of Naples, who supported the rival Pope, Gregory XII. This bull was in the usual form, granting a plenary indulgence to all contrite and confessed persons who would serve a month or contribute to the cause. The Papal Commissioner and his preachers, as usual, did not restrict themselves to the terms of the bull, but improperly announced it as an indulgence *a culpa et pœna*, from the guilt of sin as well as the penalty; they promised heaven to those who bought it, threatened hell to those who refused, and threw in the salvation of the deceased parents of purchasers. The bull had been brought to Prague in May, when, with sound of trump in the public squares, the people were informed where the chests were placed to receive their money and a brisk trade sprang up. Huss could not restrain his indignation; he announced a public disputation on the subject, and held it in spite of the efforts of the university faculty to prevent him. In this he did not deny the sacrament of penitence or the power of the keys, but he argued that indulgences are only efficient in proportion to the contrition and the devotion of the recipient. The Pope had no power, he said, to promise indulgences as a reward for slaying fellow Christians or for money wherewith to promote slaughter, and therefore his bull was not to be obeyed. It was a mere device for raising money, and was simoniacal. Huss's indignation was raised to the utmost by the lying promises of the preachers to grant remission *a culpa et pœna*, which he easily proved to be impossible, and he denounced their greed and rapacity in the strongest terms. In the debate which followed, the sympathies of the people were with Huss, and a few days later there occurred the celebrated scene of the public burning of the Papal bull by a crowd under the lead of a favorite of King Wenzel. The King, nevertheless, was resolved to put down the opposition, and three youths who interrupted the preaching of the indulgence by denouncing it as a fraud were beheaded. Many others were imprisoned and tortured, until the threatening aspect of the people called a halt, and they were released. This brought the long-seething troubles to a crisis. The lines were drawn on both sides. John XXIII. subjected Huss to the major excommunication, and ordered the chapel in which he preached to be torn down. His followers, who would not abjure, were excommunicated and summoned to appear before the Roman curia. Yet, when Huss was departing for Constance, he had no difficulty in procuring a certificate of his orthodoxy from the Papal inquisitor in Prague; he also had, it is well known, a safe conduct from the Emperor. The tragedy at Constance was the result, and also the terrible Hussite wars, which naturally were conducted as crusades, with a plentiful distribution of similar indulgences. It is true that, in the articles on which Huss was condemned there is no allusion to indulgences, but when, in 1418, Martin V. instructed his inquisitors to examine the Bohemians, one of the questions to be put was whether the Pope can grant indulgences in remission of sin, especially to those visiting and contributing to churches.

V.

In the ferment, spiritual and intellectual, which accompanied the diffusion of the New Learning and heralded the Reformation, the awakening intelligence of Europe did not spare the increasing abuses of indulgences. The reader will observe that Mr. Lea himself animadverts on the "abuses" and not the legitimate uses sanctioned by a Papal bull. The shameless venality with which indulgences were hawked around in every land by itinerant and irresponsible preachers aroused an ever-louder opposition. In 1447, we are told, throughout France and Burgundy there were many of the clergy, both regular and secular, who, in private disputation and public addresses, denounced not only the indulgences themselves, but the doctrines of the power of the keys and sacramental confession on which they were based. This gave rise to so much scandal and threatened so much danger that the attention of the Holy See was aroused, and in 1448 Nicholas V. sent orders to suppress such heresy energetically, with the aid of the Inquisition. Men, however, would think and read. The Inquisition was falling into contempt; it no longer inspired the old-time terror, and a freedom of speech and debate to which Europe had long been a stranger was becoming habitual. While Sixtus IV. was extending the dispensation of the so-called treasure to souls in purgatory—an extension made so late that it scarcely can be said to have counted among the forces provocative of the Reformation—a protest against the whole system of indulgences, with a negation of their efficacy, was uttered even in Catholic Spain. About the same time John of Wesel, a leading German theologian of the day, was tried before the Inquisition at Mainz. He had long been disseminating heresy unchecked in his University of Erfurt, and probably would have been allowed to continue had not the Dominican Realists desired to silence him as a leader of the Nominalists for his opposition to indulgences dated from the Jubilee of 1450. It is interesting to learn that in the articles of accusation it was stated that John of Wesel believed indulgences to be worthless, for a reason that would have commended itself to Calvin and Jonathan Edwards, that, in the beginning, God inscribed in a book the names of all the elect; those admitted there could never be erased, those omitted could never be inserted. He whom God wished to save would be saved, though all priests should wish to damn him; he whom God wished to damn would be damned, though priest and Pope should strive to save him. Predestinarianism could not be more rigidly carried out to its logical conclusion. In his examination he admitted having written a tract on indulgences, in which he asserted that the so-called treasure could not be dispensed by the Pope because it was not left on earth. Compensation of the *pœna*, or penalty due for sin, could not be made from the sufferings of Christ and the saint, because their merits could not be applied to men in satisfaction for their sins. Inquisitorial methods forced a retraction, and the heretic soon perished through age and infirmities in the prison into which he was thrust; but the reporter of the trial seems to think that his error as to the Procession of the Holy Ghost was the only one deserving of severe reprehension, and he named various learned men who said that most of John of Wesel's articles could be sustained. John Wessel of Gröningen, who died in 1489, a distinguished doctor of the University of Paris, was equally heterodox. The parish priest, he said, had as much power to grant indulgences as the Pope, for neither had any; God reserves to himself direct dealing with man, and the Pope can no more remit the punishment than the sin. In spite of this and other heresies, John Wessel died peacefully in the bosom of the Church, held in the highest honor by his fellow citizens. In 1484 a priest named Jean Laillier, in his thesis, presented to the University of Paris for the doctorate, had the audacity to maintain a number of dangerous errors, among which was the assertion that the Pope could not grant a plenary indulgence to the living, even though it had just and reasonable cause. The extreme difficulty experienced in dealing with this hardy heretic and the fact that the support which he received rendered necessary an appeal by the university to the Pope, show how lax were current opinions, and how rusty had become the machinery of persecution. No less flagrantly heretical was the teaching of Jean Vitrier, an Observantine friar, at Tournay, in 1498, who asserted that money should not be given to the Church for indulgences, and that they came from hell. The Sorbonne, of course, had no hesitation in pronouncing this unorthodox, but what was done to the friar does not appear.

VI.

Thus we see that, at the opening of the sixteenth century, there was a widely diffused tendency to deny the efficacy of indulgences, while, at the same time, the necessities of the thoroughly secularized Holy See were leading to the distribution of the spiritual treasure with ever-increasing lavishness and venality. Alexander VI. was chronically in want of money to aid the ambitious designs of his son, Cæsar Borgia. Julius II. was constantly waging war to extend the patrimony of St. Peter; and, when he conceived the project of demolishing the venerable Basilica of St. Peter and erecting in its place a magnificent edifice, which should fitly represent the temporal and spiritual domination of the Church of Christ, he had no other resource for meeting the enormous expense than by issuing, in 1510, the bull *Liquet omnibus*, which was destined to have results unforeseen. With cynical boldness this bull put up for sale almost everything that the Church could offer attractive to sinners, and licensed almost everything that the Church was organized to repress. In the preliminary recital of a former commission there is an allusion to repentance and confession. But in the commission now granted this allusion is not repeated, and the only condition prescribed to all Christians for gaining the indulgence is to deposit in the Church the price determined by the commissioner or his delegates. If the sinner desires to choose a confessor, to administer the necessary preliminary absolution, he can do so for an additional payment, and, if the confessor imposes a "salutary penance," this, again, is money to be devoted to the fabric of St. Peter's. In Mr. Lea's opinion, the whole document is drawn with the purpose of enabling the "pardoners" or preaching venders to represent it as an indulgence *a culpa et pœna* (as well from the guilt as from the penalty of sin), and it is redolent from beginning to end with the odor of filthy gain. Leo X. was even more reckless. In September, 1513, he proclaimed a crusade against the Turks, and, in the accompanying indulgence, there was no condition of contrition and confession, unless this was to be covertly inferred from a reference to the Holy Land and the jubilee indulgences granted by his predecessors. He promised not only full remission of all sins, but reconciliation with the Most High, and decreed that all who should go or send substitutes or contribute according to their means should be associated with the angels in eternal bliss. No more complete power over *culpa* or the guilt of sin could well be asserted. Moreover, in many of the local plenary indulgences granted by Leo X. there was no allusion to confession and repentance, while in others these were specified; the natural explanation of the distinction is that he charged more for one form of grant than for the other, and that the Church applying for the concession took its choice. The Commissioners who sold these indulgences were, therefore, not without justification when they assumed to have power over hell as well as over purgatory, and in their absolution formula assured the purchaser that they closed for him the portals of hell and opened the gates of paradise. It is pointed out that, in two vernacular summaries of the indulgences of the Teutonic Order (including some plenaries), drawn up in 1466 and 1513, the clause found in an earlier summary, requiring contrition and confession, is omitted. In view of these facts, Mr. Lea submits that Erasmus was guilty of no exaggeration when he described the wicked as tossing from their evil games a coin for an indulgence, and then, thinking their sins all wiped out, engaging in fresh ones.

VII.

No attempt, however, seems to have been made by Julius II. to publish the St. Peter's indulgence in Germany. To his successor, Leo X., he bequeathed the burdensome enterprise of the new Basilica; and Leo was not only involved in political enterprises demanding large expenditures, but he was recklessly extravagant, always in debt, and eager to embrace any financial expedient promising present relief without much regard to morality or to ultimate cost. But there was still money coming in from the indulgences of Julius II., which had been sold in the Cismontane territories, and apparently Leo waited till this resource was exhausted before organizing on a larger scale collections for St. Peter's. Even then Spain, England, and France were spared; Spain, owing to the opposition of Cardinal Ximenes; England, because it was an unpromising field for papal indulgences, owing to the rigorous conditions imposed on the admission of papal collectors and on the transmission of money to Rome; France, because Leo was there engaged in an earnest effort to abrogate the Pragmatic Sanction and obtain a Concordat; he probably thought it wiser, therefore, to avert fresh antagonism by forbearing to publish the St. Peter's indulgence there. In most of the other countries of Europe it was published in 1514-15. The commission, which eventually proved to be the most important of all, was that for north Germany, granted to Albert, Archbishop and Elector of Mainz. When the see of Mainz had fallen vacant in 1514, Albert, who was already Archbishop of Magdeburg, secured an election by promising to pay out of his own pocket the 20,000 gulden exacted by the papacy for the pallium of his new see. He borrowed the money from the Fuggers, the famous bankers of Augsburg, who arranged with the Pope (Leo X.) to reimburse themselves out of the indulgence by retaining one-half of the proceeds and paying over the other half to the Holy See. The execution of this bargain was deferred until 1517. Albert then put the business of preaching the indulgence in the hands of John Tetzel, a Dominican. Mr. Lea points out that the position of this man as inquisitor shows his good standing in the Church, and that his success in similar enterprises for many years may well have seemed a guarantee of the productiveness of the present undertaking. He was no mere vulgar "pardoner," but a trained theologian and an eloquent preacher; his misfortune was that he became the scapegoat of his employers. The instructions which Tetzel drew up for the guidance of his subordinates in the sale of the St. Peter's indulgence offered no specially reprehensible features apart from those inherent in the system. Formulas of sermons were furnished to them containing the arguments which experience had shown to be most effective in securing a liberal sale; in these formulas contrition and confession were alluded to as necessary, but the supreme and infallible efficacy of the indulgence was asserted in the most absolute fashion. And, in Mr. Lea's opinion, the general course of reasoning shows that all parties recognized the transaction as one purely mercantile. Sinners were reminded that for every mortal sin there was due, besides contrition and confession, seven years of penance, either in life or in purgatory, whereas these letters were a safe-conduct to paradise, conferring all the benefits of the passion of Christ not only on this occasion, but whenever they chose hereafter to confess, with a final plenary on the deathbed. It was pointed out that, if they were starting on a perilous journey to Rome or elsewhere, they would deposit their money in the bank, and for five or six or ten per cent. get letters on which they could draw their funds at the place designated, and they were asked why they hesitated for a quarter of a florin to get these letters, in virtue of which not their money but their immortal souls would be safely carried to paradise. A very eloquent passage to stimulate the purchase of indulgences for the dead represented the souls of parents tortured in purgatory and calling upon the children whom they had borne and nourished and enriched with their property to cast aside the hardness of heart which withheld the pittance that would release them from the flames.

Everything promised the customary abundant harvest, when Luther's attention was called to the methods used by Tetzel and his deputies, who probably did not confine themselves to the comparatively moderate formulas of the model sermons, but indulged in whatever extravagant utterance seemed best calculated to influence the popular mind, as for three centuries had been the habit of the venders of indulgences. Originally, Luther had not been inclined to doubt the value of their wares. Even as once Huss had spent his last penny for an indulgence, so Luther, when, in 1510, he was sent to Rome to plead the cause of some of the German Augustinian convents against the vicar of the order, said that, while there, he almost regretted that his parents were not dead, so that by masses in Rome's privileged churches he could release their souls from purgatory. Since that time, however, he had been indulging in speculations which tended, finally, to the evolution of his doctrine of justification by faith, and, meanwhile, his conception of the value of good works and of the application of the so-called treasure was becoming weakened. He was a most formidable disputant, almost justifying the popular belief among the orthodox that he was aided by a familiar demon, yet Mr. Lea thinks that it may well be doubted whether even his unrivalled controversial ability would have been effective but for the facilities of popular dissemination afforded by the printing press. It appears that the German printers eagerly printed everything on the Lutheran side, finding a steady popular demand, whereas Catholic writers had difficulty in getting their works published, and had to defray the expenses themselves.

Mr. Lea sees no reason to doubt the truth of Luther's assertion that, at first, he had no intention of creating a heresy, or even a schism. There is an air of verisimilitude in his own account of the manner in which he was led, step by step, to advance from a simple protest against the abuses of the system of indulgences to a denial of the principles on which it rested, involving a rejection of Papal autocracy. To do this, he was obliged to insist on the sole authority of Scripture and to cast aside all the claims of tradition, and, when this point was reached, the whole structure of scholastic theology and sacerdotalism lay open to attack.

VIII.

The popular favor, which grew in intensity as Luther advanced from one step to another, until he threw off all allegiance to the Holy See, is the most significant feature of the period. The shrewd-witted Papal Nuncio Aleander, writing to a correspondent from the Diet of Worms in February, 1521, says that the very sticks and stones cry out for Luther; the priests, he adds, are foremost in this, not for Luther's sake, but that, through him, they can vomit forth their long-felt hatred of Rome; if Charles V. were not the best and most religious of men there would be witnessed the most miserable calamity in the Church of God. In his secret despatches to Rome he tells the same tale; nine Germans out of ten are for Luther, and the tenth man wishes the destruction of the Roman curia; Luther's journey to Worms for trial and condemnation was a triumphal progress, the people turning out everywhere to do him honor; they are so infatuated that they would believe in the devil if he spoke well of Luther. Aleander thought, however, that he had won a complete victory when, in May of the same year, he procured from the Diet of Worms the adoption of the edict which he had drawn up skilfully so as to preserve the supreme jurisdiction of the Holy See, and to make Charles V. merely act as its Minister. But within sixty days of its promulgation a dolorous letter from Albert of Mainz to Leo X. reports that, in spite of the Papal bull and the imperial edict, the number of Lutherans increases daily; it is very rare, he says, to find a layman who really favors the clergy, while a large part of the priests are for Luther, and most of them are ashamed to support the Roman Church, so deeply hated is the name of the curia and of the Papal decrees.

Mr. Lea points out that all this manifests a popular feeling too deep-seated and wide-extended to admit of explaining the Reformation simply by the abuses of indulgences or the performances of Tetzel and his fellows. These furnished, it is true, the spark which fired the flame to the magazine, but that magazine had been accumulating explosive stores for upward of a century, and it needed but the spark to produce the catastrophe. Many apologies and so-called explanations have been framed by Catholic writers to account for the prodigious phenomenon, but, in Mr. Lea's opinion, they fail to take into consideration the actual condition of the Church, its relations with the German nation, and the incompatibility of its pretensions with the awakened intelligence of Europe and the spirit of independent inquiry fostered by the printing press. Cochlaeus, a contemporary observer, asserted that Albert of Mainz intended to give the preaching of the indulgence to the Augustinians, who had been great defenders of indulgences, but was persuaded to employ the Dominican Tetzel; this angered the Augustinians, and especially their two most prominent members, the Vicar-General Staupitz and Luther; the former was a favorite of Frederick, the Elector of Saxony, and represented to him that Germany was despoiled by the abuses and frauds of the pardoners, while Luther wrote an expostulatory letter to the Archbishop Albert, and followed it up with his ninety-five propositions nailed on the church door of Wittenberg; Tetzel retorted from Frankfort with his one hundred and five antitheses, and thus the struggle was opened which led, in the following year, to a conflagration. Mr. Lea considers it a typical illustration of the way in which history is written for a purpose, that Cardinal Hergenröther virtually accepts the explanation given by Cochlaeus, notwithstanding its *suggestio falsi* and *suppressio veri*. The bull of Leo X., he says, was drawn in the usual form; Father Tetzel was a learned and zealous Dominican. It is true that, from selfish reasons, there had been opposition to indulgences, and the Bishops of Meisen and Constance had forbidden them in their dioceses, but the German princes had been glad to get them for their own benefit; Luther's attack was prompted by the jealousy existing between the Augustinians and the Dominicans, and by the covetousness and envy of the local churches which saw their receipts diminished through Tetzel's success. Another Catholic historian, Gröne, contends that neither in the bull *Liquet omnibus*, nor in the manner of its preaching, was there even the appearance of an abuse, and that Luther and his followers had advanced no proof of their accusations; all Catholic historians, he says, from that time to this, have attributed the outbreak to the jealousy between the orders.

IX.

On the other hand, a number of Catholic writers are quoted by Mr. Lea to prove that, with more or less candor, they are content to ascribe the Reformation to indulgences, and to drop the unpleasant subject there. Thus Guicciardini, who was no heretic, and whose relations with Leo X. and Clement VII. gave him ample opportunity of ascertaining details, gives as the cause of Luther's outbreak the unworthy abuse of Pontifical authority by Leo. Blindly following the advice of Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci, he scattered indulgences everywhere, not only for the living, but for the dead, whose purgatorial pains, according to the latest development of the doctrine of the treasure, would be thus shortened. It was generally known, says Guicciardini, that the sole object of this spiritual profusion was to raise money; those in charge of the matter had, for the most part, bought of the Pope the right to sell the pardons, and they exercised this with so little moderation that they excited popular indignation, particularly in Germany, where many of these spiritual traders sold at a low price, or gambled away in taverns, the power of redeeming souls from purgatory. The scandal grew with Leo's liberality to his sister, Maddalina, to whom he granted part of the proceeds, and she commissioned Bishop Arenboldi to pledge for her several provinces of Germany. This man, well fitted for such a mission, performed it with extreme harshness and avarice, so that popular indignation gave Luther his opportunity, and he advanced from attacking indulgences to denying the Papal power to grant them. The evidence of a Pope is cited to the same effect. When, in 1566, Pius V. refused the request of Philip II. for a renewal of the *Cruzada* (the indulgence offered to crusaders) in Spain, he gave as a reason that the abuse of Papal indulgences had impelled Luther to assail the Church and the Papal authority, and thus, step by step, to lead Germany into apostacy, and so the *Cruzada* might give occasion to disseminate heresy in Spain, and produce the same results. Again, Cardinal Pallavicino frankly states that, whatever may have been the defects of Julius II., by nothing did he work more injury than by undertaking to rebuild St. Peter's, a work beyond his resources, which forced his successors to continue it, and thus gave occasion to Luther's heresy; Leo X., the Cardinal says, had suffered himself to be misled by the error which confounds the magnificent with the good, and popular applause with benefit to the State; he added that it would have been better to suffer any inconvenience rather than thus to scandalize Christendom.

It is well known that, through the counter-reformation organized within the Church of Rome, the sale of indulgences gradually came to an end. It was the stern reformer Pius V. who was determined to deprive heresy of any such pretext by purifying the Church. In February, 1567, he revoked and annulled for all time all indulgences based on lending the "helping hand," and conferring the permission to beg, and he prohibited, under penalty of his indignation, every one of whatever station, even episcopal or royal, from making collections or employing pardoners, under pretext of indulgences heretofore or hereafter granted. Henceforth, indulgences were to be not vendible, but eleemosynary. They could not be sold, but might be given away. The Papal decree met at first with slow obedience, even in Italy, and obedience is not complete, even to this day. The Spaniards are still permitted to collect the *Cruzada*, and the principle of exacting payment for indulgences, under the name of alms, is admitted even by Leo XIII., although he has prescribed that the amount of the alms must be determined in accordance with the advice of the confessor. But, of course, the scandals of the earlier period have long since passed away. While in principle there has been no change in the position of the Church, as respects the "happy commerce" of exchanging its spiritual for temporal treasures, discretion has averted the abuses which provoked the protest of the sixteenth century.

X.

Summing up, in a concluding chapter, the results of his researches, Mr. Lea recognizes that not only in the sixteenth century, but previously, the influence of indulgences was not confined to morals, but made itself felt at times conspicuously on history. In the ages prior to the Reformation, they were among the most potent agencies, perhaps the most potent, for providing the church with ready money. While, doubtless, in many cases, this source of emolument encouraged the dissoluteness which was a standing reproach of the priesthood, a large portion of the funds thus obtained were expended on the external manifestations of religious feeling. The stately structures in which mediæval devotion displayed itself could scarcely have been erected save through the means supplied by the sale of pardons, and the arts which found in the Church their most munificent patrons were thus stimulated to a development earlier and greater than could have taken place without such assistance. The glories of Notre Dame, of Reims, of Cologne, and of St. Peter's, exhibit to us in concrete form the outcome of the labors of successive generations of indulgence-venders, gathering from the people what they were willing to pay for the remission of their sins and modern art has reason to be grateful for the impulse thus originated, and steadily maintained for centuries. Mr. Lea reminds us also that, in the arena of pre-Reformation politics, indulgences played an even more important part. The dominating fact in mediæval history is the struggle for supremacy between the spiritual and temporal powers. The former had many weapons with which to withstand or assail the brute force of the latter, but, among them, not the least efficient was the indulgence, which could be transmuted, at will, into men or money. It was this which enabled Innocent III. to crush the rising heresy of the Cathari or Albigenses—a heresy at one time threatening to carry away half of Christendom from the true faith. Through this it was that Clement IV. triumphed at last over the Hohenstaufen, a triumph which affected the whole course of subsequent European history. This it was, too, that enabled the papacy to hold and augment its territorial possessions amid the strife of godless Italian republics and princes; for its ability to proclaim a crusade against its enemies was an ever-present danger with which the boldest and most ambitious statesman had to reckon. The Crusades proper, moreover, those, namely, against the infidel, through which, for two centuries, the West wasted its strength in conflict with the East, found their chief source of support in indulgences, without which they would speedily have languished, and have been abandoned. Again, it was largely by means of indulgences that the Teutonic knights were able to conquer and Christianize the southern and eastern shores of the Baltic, and that Hungary succeeded in proving a barrier against the Turk. In a word, if the development of the sacramental system vastly increased the power of the priesthood over the laity, the discovery of the treasure of merits, of which the distribution by means of indulgences was confided to the Pope, aided efficiently in concentrating that power in the Holy See, and gave to the whole ecclesiastical organization a compactness for offence and defence, contributing greatly to the domination which it succeeded in establishing over the mind and conscience of Europe. On the other hand, it was the abuse of that power which led to dissatisfaction, and it was, of course, the abuse of indulgences which served as at least the proximate occasion of the ultimate revolt.

M. W. H.

FLORIDA CAOUTCHOUC.

Opinion of a Rubber Man as to the Possibilities of Profit in It.

Theodore E. Studley of Murray street has been a prominent man in the India-rubber business almost ever since there was any business in India rubber, and is considered to know pretty much all that is known by anybody about caoutchouc. He was greatly interested in a clipping from the *Daily Florida Citizen*, recently republished in THE SUN, and said yesterday that it indicated a possibly important resource of the State of Florida, now almost unknown in the commerce of the world.

The clipping referred to was a brief description of the caoutchouc trees of southern Florida. According to the newspaper quoted, these trees grow in great numbers on both coasts of that State, south of a line drawn westward from New Smyrna. They grow wild, being indigenous to the soil, and have never been utilized. And the suggestion is, that the sap can be gathered as it is gathered by the natives in the tropics from which comes the world's supply of rubber, and so a material addition be made to the wealth of the country.

"It is certainly possible," said Mr. Studley, "that India rubber may be obtained in large quantities in Florida. The climate is similar to that of central Mexico. I presume, as the latitude is the same, and a great portion of what is used was formerly obtained from central and southern Mexico. In late years, however, we get very little from Mexico, probably because the supply is exhausted. The world's annual supply of the gum is between [illegible] and 70,000,000 pounds, and of this, [illegible] speaking, about two-thirds comes from Para and Manaos. Of course, if we can produce the same gum in our own country there would be a possibility of gain in it.

"As to the probability it is impossible to speak with certainty, for the reason that no civilized man knows much about the business of gathering the gum. All that we know is, practically, that we get it from the shippers in those countries where it grows. All that the shipper knows is that he gets it from the contractors. All the contractor knows is that he sends bands of natives into the forest each season, having grub-staked them, and that at the end of the season they either come back or they don't. And if they do, they usually bring more or less gum with them.

"It is believed, though, as I said, very little is known about it, that the Indians bleed the trees to death, and that they have to go further and further into the forest each season. This seems certain, because the supply has ceased in many districts. Whether it would be practicable to save the trees after bleeding them by plugging them up cannot be told positively, because none of the natives will do this, and no civilized men work at the actual gathering. All we know is that the Indians gather it, dry it by smoking, and bring it back in lumps.

"There are, therefore, no data [illegible] which to estimate the probability of [illegible] gathering Florida caoutchouc. It might [illegible] the trees could be saved by plugging, just as the New England farmers save their maple trees after drawing off the sap. If that [illegible] the greater proper kind of labor could be [illegible] by expense of wages might be [illegible] forests and the greater production of preserved [illegible] otherwise by the advantage of home [illegible] from the wise the only benefit to be [illegible] using them Florida trees would seem to be [illegible] countries up, just as the forests in [illegible] have been used. It certainly seems to be worth while for somebody to make the experiment."